/50 cont./

*101 [115] • [563] The informants of the Kubewana tribe, Heloisa and Josefa (cf. IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), both married to Wanana and living in Cururú-cachoeira (river Uaupés, 1955), indicated, as the fifth division of their tribe, the "Bahúkakõ." In April of 1957, two other Kubewana or Korēterabõa women (cf. IV -- 2, p), Nazaria and Byatrina, married to Yawareté-tapuya, and living in Arapaço-poço, locality on the river Içana close to the mouth of the river Aiarí, also gave us the Bahukõwa as the fifth division of their tribe.

Koch Grünberg, who visited them (Z.I. 278), confirms that the Bahuna are called Bahókõoa by the Kubewãna and live on the central portion of the river Cuduiarí.

(4) BEIJÚ -- Not mentioned in the other tribes. Pelo Rio Mar says only that it was missionized by Frei Gregório in 1852-3. The report by Jesuino Cordeiro gives the number of 187 persons of the Beijú tribe, who in 1853 lived in the povoado of Cubio-paraná.

[115] An old Wanana septuagenarian from Tipiaca (in 1954), José by name, informed us that a Beijú tribe that speaks only Kubewãna and calls itself Baxtoã lives in Cubio-igarape.

Other informants of the upper Uaupés assure us that only one subdivision of the Kubewãna (therefore of the Tukano family of languages), which is called "Awekõ" in its own idiom, is known under the name of Beijú.

(5) CAINATARI -- According to the author of Pelo Rio Mar they are the Acanyatara-tapuia, who are found on the river Castanho, tributary of the Tiquié.

/51/ The report by Jesuino Cordeiro, of 1853, locates 168 individuals of the Cainatarí nation in Pacú-cachoeira, recently settled there. By this location (region of the Wanana) one could be dealing with a Wanana subdivision, which, in its own idiom, is called "Witõ monõ," which means acangatara branca /white crest/.

• 563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 197 [177] [178] The first, one language becoming general, that of the Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Cáruru downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.
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It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. [178] The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. [115] In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya [126] knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely 178 also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity [563] of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining [582] and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/66 cont./

• 563 a) There does not appear to be any increase of a group by its joining another tribe. Nor is it possible, if we consider the exaggeratedly racist mentality of the human groups of the Uaupés (22).

*101 563 22. It does seem, though, that there were some cases of a more nearly perfect cultural assimilation, with even the loss of the local idiom, for example, what Koch Grünberg states about the Kawa-tapuya. But, although the Ethnologists may want to lump together different groups as Sibs of one and the same tribe, socially they are considered by the Indians as distinct tribes. Anyway, in the Uaupés there are no Tribes in the strict sense of the term, as we shall point out later (VIII-3, b), but several nations fragmented into more or less numerous groupings. One should remember what we say (IV-2, a) with reference to the Ihurwá, who, although taken as Tukano, present peculiar somatic features that differentiate them from the other Tukanos.

563 /67/ Nor do we consider, because they are rare nowadays, the cases of marriage or "ménage" of Indian women with civilized men (all prolific besides), because the child is not, nor is it considered, a native any longer (23).

23. We point out (note 105 /see note 113/, VII 5, c) that, when a child is born from a sporadic relation between a civilized man and an Indian woman, to whom naturally would fall the raising of the child, it is considered as belonging to the mother's tribe, if she is single, or to the husband's tribe (as if it were his child), if it is a matter of a married woman. In Iauareté (1956) we knew two brothers, students of the Mission, regarded as Taryana, although children of different fathers, two Colombian soldiers of fortune.

/70 cont./

a. Distinction by the somatic element.

582 As was said, the law of exogamy is in effect among all
563 these tribes (except the Makú). The Taryana of Iauareté, for example, obtain for wives the women of the Tukano tribe residing in the neighboring povoado called Umarí, both
563 povoados on the Uaupés River. Vice versa, the Tukano of
144 Umarí take as wives the Taryana women of Iauareté. According to present knowledge about heredity, the paternal genídios /genes/ (1)

1. The new science, Genetics, verified and admits a granular conception of heredity. The germ cell of the human being contains in its nucleus 24 pairs of chromatic points, they are the chromosomes, each of them being made up of smaller parts called gene or genídio (from the Greek root gen, which indicates to generate).

are blended and balanced. One can expect, then, that the physical aspect of the Taryana (of Tukano mother) will not present notably characteristic physical features that would
144 distinguish them from the Tukano (of Taryana mother). This compulsory crossing, which dates from many generations, explains to us the similarity of physiognomic features, which we find today among individuals of different tribes (2).

2. We observed a typical case, among the many, in August of 1956, during an excursion to the stream Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié (near Parí-cachoeira). We found in Piracema, povoado of the Desana tribe on the Umarí, a boy with physiognomic features extraordinarily similar to those of a Desana youth who served us as an oarsman, and from this very povoado. We verified, however, that the boy belonged to the Tukano tribe, of the povoado called

/83 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

• 563 The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

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23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komũ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oá kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

/385 cont./

• 563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115] [611] 113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanâna.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114).

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 833 [756] In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmũ and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

4: Silva--618 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

TM 582 [101]

/408 cont./

There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes, which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

TM 851 563

If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife. They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

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M /409 cont./
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
● 563

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Maku, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We
582 do not know the reasons, however: it does not seem to be because
563 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T
582 Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
563 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
614 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĺ,
[601] Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĺ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

T
582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
T
*[192] It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeserí. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-rapõ nyãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nyãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrá-ko nyãkho (future genitress).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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[114]

at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists.

Hehénewa In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapurí. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbwawü*.

Byá-Hehénewa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

Wathariwa The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbwawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacuríwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umarí* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapurí falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

Byá-Wathariwa A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

Urérariwa Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

Bahúkiwa They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapurí falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Buü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Boróka*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Boróka* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Boróka*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Boróka*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet.

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahúkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

Bahúküdjauwü A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahúkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahúkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiarí and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

Bahukuonówa A subsib of the *Bahúküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiarí.

Bahúkübuauwü A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapuánwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. [648] According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiarí overland, and whose [563] emergence site was the Querarí *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiarí. [551] The *Bahúkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

Pedíkwa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí above the *Bahúkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toídibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedí-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiarí. They are also known as *Piátokañó*.

Kenánikauwü A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* on the upper Cuduiarí at *Piramirí* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toídibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

Kenámbuawa A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiarí.

Utciwaiwa Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapurí. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahúkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miritî *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

Baryáwatiwaiwa A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

Piardwa A sib that emerged at Uaracapurí rapids, from a particular site [551] called *Mumikü*. They live at Miritî *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewá.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querarí.

Yániwa A sib at the mouth of the Querarí. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querarí as *Dyaniwa*.

Yokókũbewũ A sib on the lower Querarí.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

Batówa Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapé*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querarí. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

Ihkéadowa A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiarí, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiarí, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí.

Káua A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiarí. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoeira*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querarí and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiarí near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

THE BORÓWA

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Pary *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mrdkamótewu yavaiwũ*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

pwénewũ – the people came out
tcũnicuwa – and shed (their anaconda skins)
kahádami – they went forward
waré borikapindo – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
opéko tamána – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
emintakori – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
kanúrũbo – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
bwũhũrũkũwũ – the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwũ*)
byátakwe – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
kwábebo – the place of *Kwákũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
borikabo – the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
opéko tawá – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakũ* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
nahó pwénwa – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
bwũtaunrũ – the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwũ* passed beneath it)
bwũtaunrũ – the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
waokún – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

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[2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

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[3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocles are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Cabocio culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1963). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocles. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabaso*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocles.

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[4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Narroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

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[5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of the activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

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[6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

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